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PAGE 01 USUN N 01922 01 OF 02 060114Z
ACTION IO-16

INFO	LOG-00	AF-01	AID-01	AMAD-01	ARA-01	CIAE-00	C-01
	OASY-00	EAP-01	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	HA-09	H-01
	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	NEA-01	NSAE-00
	OIC-02	OIG-04	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	RP-10	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	SA-01	RPE-01	PMB-00	/061W	

-----43C29C 060115Z /38

O 060110Z MAY 94
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6238
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE
WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE
JOINT STAFF WASHDC PRIORITY
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY DHAKA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY ROME

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 001922

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 USUN N 01922 01 OF 02 060114Z
DEPT FOR AF/C, IO/UNP, AND IO/PHO;
WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR RICE, SCHWARTZ, AND DESHAZER;
JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;
SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA

E.O.12356: DECL:12/31/99
TAGS: PHUM, PREF, PINS, PREL, MOPS, PGOV, EAID, RW, UNSC
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS EXPERTS URGE GREATER U.S.
- INVOLVEMENT IN SOLUTION TO CRISIS IN RWANDA

REF: A) USUN 1696; B) KUEHL/LEADER TELCON 5/5

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1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: MONIQUE MUJAWAMARIYA AND HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH OFFICIAL DES FORGES CALLED ON AMBASSADOR INDERFURTH TO URGE:

A U.S. INITIATIVE AIMED AT ORGANIZING A MAJOR DONOR PROCLAMATION THAT THE DONORS WOULD NEVER SUPPORT THE CURRENT MILITARY LEADERSHIP AND CALLING FOR BRINGING THE KILLERS TO JUSTICE, RESUMPTION OF THE ARUSHA TALKS WITH ALL PARTIES EXCEPT CERTAIN QUESTIONABLE MILITARY LEADERS, AND

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE CRIMES COMMITTED BY THE CURRENT MILITARY LEADERS. END SUMMARY.

3. RWANDAN HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDER MONIQUE MUJAWAMARIYA (MM) AND HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH OFFICIAL ALISON DES FORGES (ADF) CALLED ON AMBASSADOR INDERFURTH MAY 5. USUN HUMAN
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 USUN N 01922 01 OF 02 060114Z
RIGHTS OFFICER ALSO PARTICIPATED.

4. MM AND ADF REPORTED THAT THEY HAD JUST MET WITH NIGERIAN PERM REP GAMBARI, WHO INFORMED THEM THAT HIS GOVERNMENT NOW SUPPORTS ORGANIZING AN AFRICAN FORCE TO INTERCEDE IN RWANDA UNDER THE UNAMIR BANNER, AND WOULD CONTRIBUTE TROOPS. GAMBARI TOLD THE TWO THAT HE WAS GOING TO MEET LATER THE SAME MORNING WITH OTHER AFRICAN AMBASSADORS TO DISCUSS THIS QUESTION. (COMMENT: GAMBARI TOLD USUN A SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT VERSION: THE NIGERIANS ARE WILLING TO CONTRIBUTE TROOPS IF RPT IF THE US AND OTHERS WILL PAY FOR THEM. END COMMENT.)

MAJOR DONORS PROCLAMATION

5. ADF THEN BROUGHT UP THE MATTER OF A PROCLAMATION BY MAJOR DONORS. SHE SAID SHE HAD RAISED THIS QUESTION IN HER MEETINGS IN THE DEPARTMENT 10 DAYS AGO, AND WAS DISAPPOINTED THAT THE USG HAD TAKEN NO ACTION. SHE ALSO SAID THAT SHE HAD REVISITED THE MATTER WITH DAS BUSHNELL MAY 4 (AS PER REF TELCON).

6. ADF ENVISIONS A STATEMENT, IDEALLY ORGANIZED BY THE

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USG, THAT WOULD ANNOUNCE AN AID CUT-OFF TO THE CURRENT DE FACTO RULERS ("THE KILLERS -- LES TUERS"). THE STATEMENT SHOULD ALSO ANNOUNCE THAT THE DONORS WOULD NOT SUPPORT THE GOR BY INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE AS LONG AS THE KILLERS REMAINED IN POWER, THUS DEMONSTRATING TO MODERATES STILL SURVIVING IN RWANDA THAT THERE IS NO CHANCE OF EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT UNDER THE REGIME.

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PAGE 04 USUN N 01922 01 OF 02 060114Z

7. SHE NOTED THAT THE REGIME IS CURRENTLY CARRYING OUT MISSIONS TO CAPITALS IN A DESPERATE ATTEMPT TO ACQUIRE LEGITIMACY. A MAJOR DONOR STATEMENT WOULD UNDERCUT THIS EFFORT. SHE SAID THAT VARIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS NGOS HAD BROACHED THIS IDEAS IN CAPITALS, SPECIFICALLY TO THE UK, BELGIUM, FRANCE, GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND CANADA. SHE COULD NOT BE PRECISE, BUT SHE HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT THE RESPONSES HAD BEEN GENERALLY FAVORABLE. SHE SAID SHE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND WHY THE USG COULD NOT ORGANIZE THIS EFFORT "IN A FEW HOURS."

INVESTIGATION

8. AT THE SAME TIME, ADF URGED AN INTERNATIONAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE MASSACRES WITH A VIEW TO BRINGING THOSE RESPONSIBLE TO JUSTICE. IT WAS APPARENT SHE HAD NOT THOUGHT THIS PROPOSAL THROUGH CAREFULLY, AS SHE FIRST SUGGESTED THAT NGOS CARRY OUT THE INVESTIGATION, BUT WHEN CHALLENGED ON THE CREDIBILITY OF SUCH A PROCEDURE IN THE EYES OF MANY GOVERNMENTS, SHE PROPOSED THAT IT BE CONDU

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PAGE 01 USUN N 01922 02 OF 02 060115Z
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CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

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CTED BY AN INTERNATIONAL PANEL OF
DISTINGUISHED JURISTS. SHE BELIEVES THAT AN

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INVESTIGATION UNDER DIRECT UN AUSPICES WOULD TAKE TOO LONG AND COST TOO MUCH TO BE APPROVED. WHEN ASKED WHO WOULD CREATE THE PANEL AND APPOINT ITS MEMBERS, SHE HAD NO ANSWER.

9. ADF AND MM ALLEGE THAT THERE ARE NO MORE THAN 80 MILITARY OFFICERS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MASSACRES ON THE GOVERNMENT SIDE, AND IT SHOULD BE EASY TO IDENTIFY THEM AND OBTAIN TESTIMONY AS TO THEIR GUILT.

10. ADF ALSO PROPOSED AT ONE POINT CARRYING OUT THE INVESTIGATION AND SUBSEQUENT TRIALS IN RWANDAN COURTS. BESIDES BRINGING THE GUILTY TO JUSTICE, SHE MAINTAINED, SUCH A PROCEDURE WOULD SERVE TO HELP TRAIN RWANDAN JUDICIAL OFFICIALS IN PROPER LEGAL PROCEDURES.

ARUSHA TALKS

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 USUN N 01922 02 OF 02 060115Z

11. MM THEN FOCUSSED ON THE ARUSHA TALKS. SHE URGED THEIR RESUMPTION. SHE AND ADF NOTED THAT A MAJOR DONOR STATEMENT AS PROPOSED ABOVE WOULD SERVE TO ISOLATE THE KILLERS AND BRING TO THE FORE MODERATE ELEMENTS. THUS, ALTHOUGH SHE FAVORED BRINGING ALL PARTIES TO THE TABLE, SHE BELIEVES IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO EXCLUDE THE KILLERS.

LINKAGES

12. ADF AND MM BELIEVE THAT THE THREE PROPOSALS ABOVE ARE LINKED AND MUST NOT BE CONSIDERED IN ISOLATION. THE MAJOR DONOR PROCLAMATION, FOR EXAMPLE, WOULD ENCOURAGE MODERATES STILL REMAINING IN RWANDA TO TRY TO PUSH OUT THE KILLERS, AN INVESTIGATION WOULD FURTHER ISOLATE THE KILLERS, AND THEN THE TALKS COULD RESUME AMONG ALL OTHER PARTIES WITHOUT HAVING TO INCLUDE THE KILLERS.

13. AMBASSADOR INDERFURTH PROMISED TO CONVEY THE VISITORS' CONCERNS TO THE DEPARTMENT AND TO AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT.

COMMENT

13. DES FORGES AND MUJAWAMARIYA HAVE BEEN TRAVELLING

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INCESSANTLY FOR OVER TWO WEEKS IN SUPPORT OF THEIR CAUSE, AND FATIGUE IS TAKING ITS TOLL. THEIR PRESENTATION WAS DISJOINTED AND NOT CLEARLY THOUGHT OUT. NEVERTHELESS, THEY KNOW AS MUCH ABOUT WHAT IS GOING ON IN RWANDA AS ALMOST ANYONE ELSE IN THE U.S., AND THEIR IDEAS DESERVE CAREFUL ATTENTION. USUN IS
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PAGE 04 USUN N 01922 02 OF 02 060115Z
PARTICULARLY STRUCK BY THEIR INSISTENCE THAT ENOUGH MODERATES HAVE SURVIVED, INCLUDING HIGH RANKING MILITARY, TO FORM A VIABLE NEGOTIATING PRESENCE AND EVENTUALLY TAKE PART IN A COALITION GOVERNMENT. WHAT THEY CANNOT SOLVE DESPITE VALIANT EFFORTS, HOWEVER, IS HOW TO NEUTRALIZE THE KILLERS AND BRING FORTH THE MODERATES. ALBRIGHT

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